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The European War and Socialism

By Harry W. Laidler.

"Why did not you Socialists stop the war?" was the plaintive question which I continually heard from the discomforted American tourist fleeing from the European conflagration. Though he may have been ever so blatant in his criticism of Socialism during his two score years and ten, and may never have lost an opportunity to do his part in preventing the Socialist movement from becoming a ruling power in the world, he now relished nothing better than vigorously denouncing that movement for the very weakness which he and his class had helped to produce.

No, the Socialists did not stop the war, but, unsuccessful as they were, they conducted, during the few days at their disposal, by all odds the most powerful anti-war agitation of any movement in Europe.

I was present at Brussels on July 29th, the day after Austria declared war against Servia. The International Socialist Bureau had met that day in the *Maison du Peuple* to see what could be done to prevent the spread of the war fever. The delegates decided to hold the International Socialist Congress on August 9th in Paris and to make the subject of war the one subject on the agenda.

That night the Bureau had planned a huge *guerre a la guerre* demonstration in the *Royal Cirque,* the largest of Brussels' halls*. By 7:30 the great edifice was crowded from pit to dome and ten thousand were turned away. No sooner was the audience seated than the inspiring strains of The International were echoed and re-echoed throughout the hall. And then the speaking. In rapid succession the brilliant leaders of the International, Emil Vandervelde, Keir Hardie, Haase, the leader of the German Socialists, Agnini of Italy, Roubanovitch of Russia, and then Jean Jaures, France's wonderful statesman. All bitterly denounced the impending war; all told of the mighty manifestations of their comrades in favor of peace, all pledged their faith in the International Party.

"When after twenty centuries of Christianity, when after one hundred years of the rights of man," asked Jaures, "how is it possible that millions of persons, without knowing why, can kill each other?"

He dealt with the present situation, analyzed the hopeful signs and set forth the duties of the French comrades.

"As for us," he continued, "it is our duty to insist that France shall speak with force that Russia may abstain. If, unfortunately, Russia does not abstain, it is our duty to say, 'We do not know of any other treaty except the one that binds us to the human race.'"

Jaures expressed his hope in the salutary effect of the Congress of the International on August 9th. "Long live the International!" "Long live the social revolution!" were his last words. Two days after he was killed by a fanatical chauvinist for his loyalty to the cause of peace and internationalism.

That night thousands of Belgian workers marched through the broad thoroughfares of Brussels shouting The International and crying *"A bas la guerre," "Vive la paix."*

The meeting of Brussels, while the only genuinely international demonstration held in these awful days of late July, was but one of thousands prepared by the Social Democrats of Europe during the week preceding the explosion. The Austrian Socialists held

* A full description of this meeting by the writer may be found in the *Survey* of Oct. 3.

scores of protest meetings in various large cities, while the group in the Austrian Reichsrath bitterly attacked the militarists of their country for their ultimatum to Servia.

The Hungarian Socialists also fought vigorously against the impending conflict. "The cries for war," declared the official organ of the party in Budapest, "come only from the fiends who cannot forget the defeat suffered in the Balkan crisis."

The German Social Democrats brought to bear the strength of their army of toilers against the war spirit. It is reported that no less than 200,000 were present at some fifty meetings of protest on the evening before Germany declared war on Russia. In Hamburg, Leipzig, Stuttgart, Bremen, Cologne, Nurnberg, in fact throughout the length and breadth of the empire, reports came of streets and squares packed with thousands of Socialists. In many instances, they suffered head splitting, arrests, imprisonments on account of their opposition to war. This agitation took place in spite of the censorship of the press, of telegrams and letters, the system of espionage, the intense opposition of the militarists, the conduct of the police, and later, the tyranny of martial law. "Before the war," declared Vandervelde, "I am convinced that the German Social Democracy did all that could have been expected of them to avert the conflict, and more too." Whether this statement is fully justified time alone can tell.

On August 2nd, the British Socialist and labor forces held a gigantic anti-war demonstration in Trafalgar Square in London and prepared for a widespread agitation throughout the kingdom.

In France the Socialists were everywhere in evidence with their *"a bas la guerre"* shibboleth, and in many sections they were arrested in a wholesale manner by the authorities.

Socialists After the Declaration of War.

This before the war. What was the attitude of the Socialists after war was declared? Did the Socialists betray their cause? In Belgium the Labor Party, following the invasion of their country by the Germans, urged their members to defend their firesides. Emile Vandervelde, the chairman of the International Socialist Bureau, was appointed a minister of state. The Socialists led in the relief work, in the feeding of the population, and in the national defense.

The French comrades followed suite. Marcel Sembat and Jules Guesde, the unrelenting Marxists who strongly opposed Millerand and Briand when they consented to enter the French cabinet, accepted offers, after the outbreak of the war, to become members of that body. The German Socialists voted for the military credit. Over a dozen of the eighty members present at the conference, including Haase, the chairman of the party, and Karl Liebknecht, opposed this action, although, under the unit rule, they voted in the Reichstag with the majority. The *Vorwärts* has contained many incidental remarks —inspite of the strict censorship and the elimination of editorials—indicating its opposition to the government on many of Germany's war projects. For these remarks it has several times had to suspend publication.

When Germany invaded Belgium, and the news became known, this paper stated: "Now that the war god reigns supreme not only over Time but also over the press, we cannot say about the invasion of Belgium what we would like to express about it." And by its opposition to the outrages committed by German soldiers on Belgians and others, its expressed friendship to the peoples of the various nations and its congratulations to Italy for remaining neutral when other papers were calling the Italians "traitors," this paper has steadily resisted the blind militarism

which was instrumental in leading Germany into its present predicament.

In Great Britain opinion has been divided. The Labor Party has stood squarely by the government, while many in the I. L. P. and the British Socialist Party have continued their anti-war propaganda. Ramsay MacDonald resigned from leadership of the Labor group because of his strong anti-war views, while Hardie persistently opposed the government in spite of the most intense opposition.

"German military autocracy was bad for Europe," declared MacDonald, "and so is British secret diplomacy. But to try to break either by a war is stupid and criminal. The end cannot be secured in that way, and, if it could, the price is too dear. I would rather that militarism had flourished for another ten years than that we should have sent thousands of men along the path of privation, hate and pain to death, that we should have undone our social reform work for a generation." MacDonald believed that the success of the Allies would strengthen the autocracy of Russia.

Latterly the Socialists have been chiefly occupied with bringing pressure to bear on the government to provide for the state control of the food supply. The Socialist and labor members of the House of Commons have done consistent work since the beginning of the war in seeing that the wants of the working class and particularly of the women and children were cared for.

The Italian Socialists delivered an ultimatum to the government threatening an insurrection should it make a move in behalf of Germany. They have done effective work in keeping Italy out of the struggle. The Socialists of Holland have been aggressive in their demands that Holland take the initiative in bringing about peace among the warring nations. They have also exerted an appreciable influence on Holland's stand on neutrality by fighting the blind prejudice against Germany which might at any time have plunged the country into war. At present they are calling upon "the workers of all countries not to reproach each other for the misery produced by the war, but to carry their agitation against capitalism as the general cause of the war and against the lack of unity among the working class."

In Russia as well the Socialists' voice was raised in protest, and after war was declared, the Social Democratic members of the Duma refused to vote the war appropriations. They first demanded an amnesty for all Socialist political prisoners and a general policy of conciliation toward the oppressed of all nationalities. It was, perhaps, this demand which was responsible for the recent action of the Russian Government in abolishing some of the restrictions formerly imposed upon the Poles and the Jews. After a definite promise to grant the full demands of the Socialists had been refused, Valentin Khaustoff, on August 8th, in the name of the two Socialist groups in the Duma, read a protest against the war amid the applause of the left and the hissing of the right and, following the reading of the declaration, left the hall, together with the members of the Labor Party.

The Socialists of the United States were most strenuous in their protest against any possible action which might involve the United States in war, and at the present time are endeavoring to arrange an international peace congress to take place in Washington or The Hague.

Have these activities been consistent with international Socialism? Socialists, while opposing wars of aggression, have never gone on record against wars of defense. They have always insisted that, in the nature of the case, they must defend their own hearthstones against an aggressive enemy.

"Our duties in this war," declared Vandervelde, speaking of the Socialists in the countries of the Allies, "coincided entirely with our principles. By opposing German militarism we were not only fighting for our independence, but for the freedom and

the civilization of Europe. As far as Belgium was especially concerned, there was not one single Socialist who, from the very moment, did not agree with this view."

But what about Germany? Is not the war one of aggression on the part of that country? And even there did not the Social Democrats vote for the war budget? Is it not therefore clear that the Socialists in this country were evidently untrue to their spirit of internationalism? This is the belief of many, and yet the position of the Socialists in Germany was not so simple. In the first place, if we may credit reports, the Germans knew little or nothing of the ultimatum sent to Belgium and the subsequent invasion, at the time they voted for the war budget. Everything possible was done to make the war appear to be a defensive one against Russia, and the mass of the German people believed this to be the case. They were of the opinion that if Russia crushed their only dependable ally, Austria-Hungary, it would, in a short time, seek either to obtain control of Eastern Germany, or to direct the policy of Germany from St. Petersburg. After disclaiming any responsibility for the war, and declaring that the Social Democracy fought tooth and nail against it, Deputy Haase summed up the majority position in the Reichstag:

"Should the Russian despotism, which has stained its hands with the blood of the best of the people, get the upper hand, our country and freedom of the future would lose much if not everything. It is our duty to obviate that danger and to hold our shield over the civilization and the independence of our country. Therefore we do what we have always promised. In the hour of need we shall not fail our country. In this we feel ourselves in accordance with international Socialism, which always admitted the right of every country to national independence and self-defence. In accordance with its teachings, we shall object to a war of conquest. It is our demand that the war must end as soon as we have the certainty that our country is secure, and must be ended by a peace which will make friendship between us and our neighbors a possibility, and we demand this not only in the interest of international solidarity, which has always been our article of faith, but also in the interest of the German people."

Phillip Scheidemann, in defending the position of the German "comrades," declared that "if Germany had hesitated longer, then Russia would have finished her mobilization, and would have flooded our only moderately protected East with Cossacks." Scheidemann does not here state that the Socialists were ignorant of the invasion of Belgium when the vote was taken.

"Our German comrades found themselves upon the horns of a dilemma," declared Emile Vandervelde. "To vote against the war credits meant to deliver their country into the hands of the Russian invader; to vote for them meant to supply their government with arms against England, France and Belgium, in a word, against the democracy of Western Europe. Of the two evils they chose what appeared to them to be the least. In their hatred of Czarism they voted for the war credits."

Others, however, claim that German Social Democrats did not perform their full duty. The war, they assert, was undeniably one of aggression on Germany's part. The Socialists should have known this. If they were aware of this and still supported the budget, they were false to their comrades. If they were deceived by the government, they were wickedly stupid. For time and again they foretold the manner in which deception would probably be practiced in such a crisis. Many American Socialists are awaiting the explanation of the German Socialists before passing judgment.

The war will undoubtedly give a great impetus to the movement for a partial or complete general strike in case of another threatened outbreak, and to an increased emphasis on anti-militarist and internationalist propaganda.

The Future of Socialism.

How will the war affect the Socialist movement in Europe and America? I asked that question to Emile Vander-

velde, on his recent trip to America. While Mr. Vandervelde's opinions should be given due weight, it must be borne in mind that, as Belgian minister of State, he would be likely to be somewhat optimistic concerning the results which would follow a victory of the Allies.

"The effect of the war on Socialism will depend," the chairman of the International answered, "upon who is the victor. If Germany should win, a number of the smaller countries would be more or less dominated by German militarism and the Social Democracy of Germany would feel the pressure of the ruling class even more than now.

"On the other hand, should the Allies win, especially should they be victorious largely through the efforts of England and France, a great impulse will be given to all democratic institutions. Belgium will be given universal suffrage. The smaller countries will be able to group themselves according to natural units and will then find it possible to give their attention to internal affairs.

"The prestige of the French and Belgium Socialist parties has been greatly increased since the war. The people in these countries now realize that the governments must call on the Socialists when in danger. A great impulse will also be given to German Social Democracy when it is freed from Prussian militarism. The Socialist movement in Russia will be advanced as a result of the war."

It may be said in passing that Kautsky and Bernstein disagree with Vandervelde in his optimism concerning the result of a crushing defeat on German Social Democracy, maintaining that such a defeat would embitter the people, and encourage the jingo and militarist forces.

Nor did M. Vandervelde think that the feeling of brotherhood between the workers in the Socialist movements of the various countries would be permanently stifled by the war. He declared that Belgian Socialists were not carrying their bitterness against the workers of Germany whom they knew to be victims of the system of militarism and autocracy.

"There will be no more wars," he concluded, "for fifty years, and then the basis of civilization will be so changed that wars will be impossible."

The friendly greetings which are even now being sent between the workers of the various nations indicate that the spirit of internationalism is still alive. The recent Swedish election in which the Socialists gained 14 seats in their parliament might be indicative of the effect of the war on Socialist parties.

In fact, although the spirit of internationalism will undoubtedly be dampened in many instances for a few years to come, it seems well nigh inevitable that the Socialist movement should receive a great impulse in the various countries after hostilities cease, as M. Vandervelde predicts. The Socialists can point to the fact that they were the only large body of people in most of the countries who incessantly opposed the militarist, autocratic and commercial interests responsible for the war, and that there is no guarantee for peace so long as the economic basis of society remains as it is.

The various extensions of collective action—such as the public management of British railroads and the control of the food supply, will also furnish further examples of the practicability and necessity of public ownership and operation and will lead one step nearer the Socialist goal.

The Causes of the War.

Finally let us briefly consider the causes of the war in the light of the Socialist philosophy. Socialists, together with many other students of history, contend that the underlying causes of practically all wars have been

economic in their nature. Nations desire new territory, new markets. Their interests conflict with those of other nations: war follows. To what extent were these causes present in the European conflict?

The first move on the continental chess board prior to the war was made by Austria against Servia. Herzegovina and Bosnia, two territories largely Serb in their makeup, had long been a bone of contention between these two countries. By the treaty of Berlin, these provinces were left under the protection of Turkey. Austria, however, was given charge of their administration. In 1908, frightened by Bosnia's and Herzegovina's claim of the right to send delegates to the recently formed Turkish parliament, Austria-Hungary annexed them. The Serbs, who had visions of a greater Servia, which would embrace the members of their own race in these two provinces, were embittered by this stroke of Austria. The result was a vigorous anti-Austrian agitation among the Serbs in Austria, the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, the ultimatum of Austria-Hungary and the ensuing declaration of war. Austria's policy, however, was not only a defensive one. She also had hopes of gaining new territory. At present she possesses but a small coastline between Trieste and Fiume besides the mountainous coastline of Dalmatia which contains a large Serb population.

"A main object of Austria in this war," declares Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, "is to push that coastline farther south, wiping out Montenegro and part of Albania, or even to follow out a plan cherished for half a century to obtain a tongue of land between Bosnia and the Aegian Sea with the port of Salonica."

Connected as she is by a thousand ties — economic, political, social — to Germany, Austria was also acting as the advance guard of the Fatherland in trying to rid the Balkans of Russian domination.

The endeavor by Austria to hold her Slav population in check by making it appear that there was danger of Russian control, and the enmity of the Germans inside of Austria toward the Slav and particularly toward the one "markedly successful and independent Slav State outside of Russia" were contributing causes.

A desire to retain territory, to gain control of new territory for herself and Germany and to suppress discontent, constituted, then, main causes for Austria's action.

When Russia intervened in behalf of Servia, she gave as an excuse that she "could not regard with unconcern any attempt to deprive a Slavic nation of its sovereign right." She insisted that she merely acted as the protector of her smaller Slav neighbors. However, in her case as well, her motive was primarily one of territorial aggression. During the last century, she had extended her boundaries from the Baltic to the Pacific. And yet she was not satisfied.

For Russia, though chiefly an agricultural nation, is rapidly developing its manufactures. Since 1909 the growth of industry has been a matter of astonishment and concern to her rivals. This development necessarily leads, under the present system, to a demand for outlets for her goods. Russia at present possesses but a few ports on the Baltic Sea, which is largely controlled by Germany; a few harbors on the Black Sea, which connects with the Mediterranean by narrow straits guarded by Turkish guns and the guns of the power that chances to dominate the Turkish policies; and some seaboard cities on the Pacific.

Each year her desire to ensure a free passage to the Mediterranean grows apace. That desire can be realized either by taking the Slavs in the Balkans and in Austria-Hungary directly under her control, or by making sure of their independence from the domina-

tion of Austria and Germany. Such control would give her a vantage point from which she could shove Turkey out of Europe, thereby controlling Constantinople. Then Asia Minor would be at her very door.

These interests necessarily conflicted with those of Germany and Austria, who, for similar reasons, wanted to dominate southeastern Europe.

Austria's action in snatching for herself Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, interfering as it did with the carrying out of Russia's dreams, greatly incensed the Czardom. The latter felt that this was but a prelude to further attempts both by Austria and Germany to obtain territory in the Balkans, and further aggression she resolved to stop.

Another reason why Russia was willing to plunge into the conflict at this time may have been a desire to take attention away from the bitter internal conflict. Two weeks before the war, 200,000 workers took part in a general strike in St. Petersburg in protest against the atrocious measures used for the suppression of strikes. On July 21, barricades were erected in the streets of that city and several thousand workers engaged in a desperate fight with the troops and gendarmes. "The police and military volleyed fiercely upon the crowds," runs a despatch, "until, after a time, it became impossible to count the dead and wounded."

"The Department of the Interior came out strongly for risking war," read a despatch from St. Petersburg to the New York "World" (July 29). "The reason was the same as that given by the minister of the Interior Plehve ten years ago for the Japanese war—that the situation demanded war."

"Internal unrest would not abate before police repression and the only means left of diverting the ferment, seeing that reform in a liberal direction was not to be granted, was to strike out for military glory. The danger of democracy is greater now than ten years ago."

Although the excuse given by Russia for her action indicated a desire to protect peoples of the same race, the underlying motive in her case as that of Austria, seems to be economic—a desire to extend Russian control southward to the seas and to suppress social discontent at home.

The same commercial and economic interests were the predominating causes of Germany's attitude. Further outlets to the seas, markets for her surplus good, colonies for her surplus population were the chief economic demands of Germany. These were the needs which gave such an impetus to the militaristic forces so strongly entrenched in the Empire. When Germany became unified in the early seventies, she found that the other countries had already divided among themselves a great part of the available colonies. As long as she was chiefly an agricultural country, this fact did not greatly trouble her. During the last generation or two she has, however, grown to be a great industrial nation, and has become more and more disturbed over the lack of elbow-room and colonies. Her condition, as far as harbors are concerned, is somewhat similar to that of Russia. She has no direct connection with the Mediterranean ports; most of her northern coast fronts the Baltic. She is forced to send many of her vessels through the English Channel and expose them to possible attacks by England. She possesses but one station in China, a few islands on the Pacific and three colonies in Africa which contain in all less than 12,000,000 native Africans whose wants are exceedingly meagre.

While other countries were urging that there be no more colonial aggression and were looking askance at every attempt toward expansion on the part of Germany, they were adding to their possessions continually.

"Since 1870," declared Dr. Bernhard Dernberg, "England has conquered Egypt, shelled Alexandria, taken by force two Boer republics; it has added to its sphere, by force, southern Persia, and by intimida-

tion a part of Siam. France has conquered Tunis, she is fighting for Morocco, she has made war on Madagascar, has tried to take the Sudan and conquered Indo-China in bloody war. Russia has fought the Turks in 1878 and the Japanese in 1904, she has torn from China the northern part of Manchuria and all of Mongolia, she has made war on Turkestan, she has bagged northern Persia, she has formed and fomented the Balkan combination and has all along proved herself the most aggressive European Power."

General Frederich von Bernhardi, in his remarkable book, *Germany and the Next War,* thus puts the case:

"We are already suffering severely from the want of colonies to meet our requirements. They would not merely guarantee a livelihood to our growing working population, but would supply raw materials and foodstuffs, would buy goods and open a field of activity to that immense capital of intellectual labor forces which is to-day lying unproductive in Germany, or is in the service of foreign interests. We find throughout the countries of the world German merchants, engineers, and men of every profession, employed actively in the service of foreign masters, because German colonies, when they might be profitably engaged, do not exist. In the future, however, the importance of Germany will depend on two points: firstly, how many millions of men in the world speak German? Secondly, how many of them are politically members of the German Empire?

"Unless some outlet can be found for the surplus population," declares Prof. Roland G. Usher (*Pan-Germanism,* p. 6) "and a new and extensive market discovered for this enormous surplus production, prosperity will be inevitably succeeded by bankruptcy."

Thus the ruling class in Germany has long been laying schemes for a war of aggression which would permit her to burst her present shell, and the seeming necessity of expansion has led to visions of a mighty empire, as well as to the adoption of a curious philosophy which attempts to justify the waging of war by Germany on the highest ethical grounds.

"We have fought in the last great wars for our national union and our position among the Powers of Europe," declared General Friedrich von Bernhardi again. "We now must decide whether we wish to develop into and maintain a World Empire, and procure for German spirit and German ideas that fit recognition which has been hitherto withheld from them. . . . According to Christianity we cannot disapprove of war in itself, but must admit that it is justified morally and historically."

A strong group in Germany have not only urged the acquisition of new colonies, but also a control by Germany of an overland route to the East.

"The Germans consider perfectly feasible the construction of a great confederation of states including Germany, Austria, Hungary, the Balkan States, and Turkey, which would control a great band of territory stretching southeast from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf," declares Prof. Usher. "A railway from Constantinople to Baghdad would effectually tie the great trunk lines, leading from the Rhine and Danube valleys, to Constantinople and the Persian Gulf, and so establish a shorter route to India than that via Suez. Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, India herself, the mother of nations, would fall into German hands and be held safe from conquest by this magnificent overland route to the East. Pan-Germanism is, therefore, in the first place, a defensive movement for self-preservation, for escaping the pressure of France and Russia, both bent on her destruction. It is, in the second place, an offensive movement directed against England, its object, the conquest of the English possessions in the Mediterranean and in Asia. She expects thus to obtain an outlet for her surplus population and manufactures and to create an empire as little vulnerable politically, economically, or strategically as any the world has yet seen."

The control of Belgium and the Netherlands in order to obtain better outlets to the sea has been another ideal of the more militant Germans.

It was necessary for the realization of these dreams that the independence of Servia be suppressed and that Russia's influence in the Balkans be lessened, and this before Russia had completed her means of offense and defense. Thus her willingness to assist Austria in this crisis.

A genuine fear of Russian aggression, the pressure of German militarism and a dread of the power of the growing Social-Democracy were also contributing causes of Germany's action.

France was brought into the conflict as a member of the Triple Entente. The economic reasons for her action were her

desire to regain control of Alsace-Lorraine; to safeguard the many billions of dollars of securities which her commercial classes had invested in Russian industries and armament, and to retain control of her colonies.

England was given a moral justification for allowing herself to be drawn into the conflict by the violation of Belgian territory. It is, of course, extremely doubtful whether similar violation by France would have led her to take sides against that country.

While England was not directly attacked she felt that she must assist the Allies in this crisis. For should Germany be victorious, the German Empire would probably gain control of Belgium and perhaps the Netherlands, which control would place her perilously near the English coast. She would then be in a far better position than at present to contest with Great Britain the control of the seas and of certain portions of Asia and Africa. A victory for the Fatherland would also mean a contest on much different terms than at present between the German and the British merchant marine, between German and British commerce in general. Commercial rivalry was at the root of the antagonism between these two nations.

The whole struggle appears therefore, for the most part, a "traders' war," a contest for territory, for markets, for commercial aggrandizement. It is, in some respects, also a war against militarism, against despotism, a war between races, but one can detect primarily a huge scramble for profits. The Socialists' reliance on the economic interpretation of history as a chief explanation of war is seen again to be justified.

The question which occurs to every thinking person is: Can we have any guaranty of peace so long as we remain under an industrial system which depends for its prosperity on the securing of ever expanding foreign markets for the disposing of surplus goods which the workers produce but have not the wherewithal to purchase?

Have not militarism, autocracy, commercialism once more played civilization false?

"Guerre A La Guerre"

By Frederick Frye Rockwell.

Around the war-spent world's wide rim,
Beneath the cannon-shaken skies,
Once more the battle-lines are flung,
Once more the bugle's lip has sung
Hands to the harvest, futile, grim,
'E're all war dies.

Once more the lean and singing sword,
Flooding the world with death and flame;
A king's hurt pride—the traders' gold—
Some vision of empire—as of old!
Murder and rapine, stalking, gaunt, abroad,
In the Lord's name.

And after them Disease, with lips
That writhe, and Famine, starved and stark.
The flower of manhood mown, while grain
Wastes down and rots beneath the rain,
And fields grow rich with blood that drips
And clots.—But hark!

Across the night a new star rings!
The measured tread of unarmed men
Comes down the wind in every land
Till granite cities shake like sand.
Against the words and swords of kings
The mightier pen.

Against the bankers' greed of gold,
Against the needs of trade and gain,
The silent Meek's conspiracy,
Resistless as the rising sea;
Till swords are rust and scepters mould,
And wealth's power 's vain.

To arms! oh toilers of the world,
Workers with hand and tool and brain,
To arms against the common foe;
Strike for yourselves the bloodless blow
That shall one world-wide flag unfurl!
You have the world to gain!

Excerpts from Socialist War Manifestoes

[*Manifestoes Before the War.*]

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

A special meeting of the International Socialist Bureau was held at Brussels on July 29th. The following resolution was adopted:

With unanimous vote, the Bureau considers it an obligation for the workers of all nations concerned not only to continue but even to strengthen their demonstrations against war, in favor of peace and of a settlement of the Austro-Servian conflict by arbitration.

"The German and French workers will bring to bear on their Governments the most vigorous pressure in order that Germany may secure in Austria a moderating action, and in order that France may obtain from Russia an undertaking that she will not engage in the conflict. On their side the workers of Great Britain and Italy shall sustain these efforts with all the power at their command.

THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY.

The fields in the Balkans are not yet dry from the blood of those who have been massacred by thousands; the ruins of the devastated towns are still smoking; unemployed hungry men, widowed women and orphaned children are still wandering about the country. Yet once more the war-fury, unchained by Austrian imperialism, is setting out to bring death and destruction over the whole of Europe.

Though we also condemn the behavior of the Greater Servia nationalists, the frivolous war-provocation of the Austro-Hungarian Government calls for the sharpest protest. For the demands of that Government are more brutal than have ever been put to an independent State in the world's history, and can only be intended deliberately to provoke war.

In the name of humanity and civilization the class-conscious proletariat of Germany raises a flaming protest against this criminal behavior of the war provokers. It imperiously demands of the German Government that it use its influence with the Austrian Government for the preservation of peace, and, if the shameful war cannot be prevented, to abstain from any armed interference. Not one drop of a German soldier's blood shall be sacrificed to the lust of power of the Austrian rulers and to the imperialistic profit-interests.

Comrades, we appeal to you to express at mass meetings without delay the German proletariat's firm determination to maintain peace. A solemn hour has come, more serious than any during the last few decades. Danger is approaching! The world-war is threatening! The ruling classes who in time of peace gag you, despise you and exploit you, would misuse you as food for cannon. Everywhere must sound in the ears of those in power: "We will have no war! Down with war! Long live the international brotherhood of the peoples!"

AUSTRIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

We are convinced that all that the Austro-Hungarian government requires to maintain its position may be obtained by peaceful methods. But even if this is not possible there is no necessity or consideration of prestige of a great power which forces it to break the ties of peaceful relations.

The people do not have the power to decide on peace or war. The Parliament, by which they speak and act, is dumb. Political liberty and freedom of speech and assembly is bound in chains.

In the presence of this grave and fatal hour we raise our voice to cry to the people: "Peace is the most precious good of humanity, the greatest necessity of nations."

We decline all responsibility for war. We declare solemnly and formally that that responsibility rests upon those on both sides of the frontier who have wished to provoke it and release its horrors.

We are a part of the conscious union of the workers of the entire world, including our Socialist comrades of Servia. Solemnly we declare ourselves devoted to the work of civilization, to international Socialism, and to this work we pledge our devotion in life even unto death.

FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY.

Against this policy of violence and the brutal methods which may now let loose upon Europe

a catastrophe without precedent the proletariat of all countries must raise their protest. They must express their horror of war and their intention to prevent it. The Socialists, the workers of France, make an appeal to the whole country to use all efforts for the maintenance of peace. They know that in the present crisis the French Government is most sincerely anxious to avert or to diminish the risks of conflict. It is asked to apply itself to securing a policy of conciliation and mediation rendered all the easier by the readiness of Servia to accede to the major portion of the Austrian demands. It is asked to influence its ally, Russia, in order that she shall not seek a pretext for aggressive operations under cover of defending the interests of the Slavs. Their efforts thus correspond with those of the German Social-Democrats in demanding that Germany shall exercise a moderating influence on her ally, Austria. Both at their posts of action have the same work and the same end.

It is this strongest and most imperative desire for peace, comrades, which must be expressed in the meetings which we call upon you to multiply. With the International we shall work with all our energy against the abominable crime which now menaces the world. The possibility of this crime is in itself a condemnation of the whole regime.

BRITISH SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

The long-threatened European war is now upon us. For more than one hundred years no such danger has confronted civilization.

Workers, stand together therefore for peace! Combine and conquer the militarist enemy and the self-seeking Imperialists to-day, once and for all.

Men and women of Britain, you have now an unexampled opportunity of rendering a magnificent service to humanity, and to the world!

Proclaim that for you the days of plunder and butchery have gone by; send messages of peace and fraternity to your fellows who have less liberty than you. Down with class rule. Down with the rule of brute force. Down with war. Up with the peaceful rule of the people.

ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

Their ultimatum to the government was in part as follows:

It is not a question of ourselves, but of Italy.

We can assure that if Italy mobilizes her army and commands it to march to the *direct or indirect support* of the Germans against France, that very day there will be no need of any effort on our part to make the Italian people revolt.

During a whole week the most prominent supporters of the present order have come to us and have said: If Italy is forced to go with the Triple Alliance, that is the hour of the revolution. It would be a patriotic revolution if it stopped Italy from giving her support to Germany and Austria.

THE BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY.

The British Socialist Party joins with the Socialist comrades throughout the civilized world in denouncing the provocative note of Austria-Hungary to Servia, sent before fuller inquiry was made into the responsibility of the Servian Government for the assassination at Serajevo. It heartily congratulates the Social Democrats of Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and other centers upon their vigorous efforts to prevent the outbreak of war, and pledges its members to do their utmost to support similar pacific efforts in Great Britain.

[*Manifestoes After the War.*]

THE BELGIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

To the People!

The European war is declared.

In a few days, a few hours perhaps, millions of men who ask only to live in peace will be dragged without their consent into the most appalling of butcheries by treaties to which they have not agreed, by a decision with which they had nothing to do.

The Social Democracy bears no responsibility in this disaster.

It shrank from nothing to warn the people, to prevent the folly of armaments, to drive back the catastrophe which will strike all European communities.

But to-day the harm is done, and by the fatality of events one thought dominates us: that soon, perhaps, we shall have to direct our efforts to stopping the invasion of our territory.

We do so with all the more ardent hearts in that in defending the neutrality and even the existence of our country against militarist barbarism we shall be conscious of serving the cause of democracy and of political liberties in Europe.

Our comrades who are called to the colors will show how Socialist workers can conduct themselves in the face of danger. But whatever the circumstances in which they find themselves, we ask them never to forget, among the horrors they will see perpetrated, that they belong to the Workers' International, and that they must be fraternal and humane as far as is compatible with their legitimate individual defence and that of the country.

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST PARTIES.

War has already begun. While the governments of Europe were preparing for it, the proletariat of the entire world, with the Ger-

man workers at the head, have unanimously protested.

The hearts of the Russian workers are with the European proletariat. This war is provoked by the policy of expansion for which the ruling classes of all countries are responsible.

The proletariat will defend the civilization of the world against this attack.

We are convinced that this war will finally open the eyes of the great masses of Europe, and show them the real causes of all the oppression and violence that they endure, and that therefore this new explosion of barbarism will be the last.

BRITISH INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.

Treaties and agreements have dragged Republican France at the heels of despotic Russia, Britain at the heels of France. At the proper time all this will be made plain, and the men responsible called to account.

We desire neither the aggrandizement of German militarism nor Russian militarism, but the danger is that this war will promote one or the other. Britain has placed herself behind Russia, the most reactionary, corrupt, and oppressive power in Europe. If Russia is permitted to gratify her territorial ambitions and extend her Cossack rule, civilization and democracy will be gravely imperilled. Is it for this that Britain has drawn the sword?

Out of the darkness and the depth we hail our working-class comrades of every land. Across the roar of guns, we send sympathy and greeting to the German Socialists. They have labored unceasingly to promote good relations with Britain, as we with Germany. They are no enemies of ours but faithful friends.

In forcing this appalling crime upon the nations, it is the rulers, the diplomats, the militarists who have sealed their doom. In tears and blood and bitterness the greater democracy will be born. With steadfast faith we greet the future; our cause is holy and imperishable, and the labor of our hands has not been in vain.

Long live Freedom and Fraternity! Long live International Socialism!

THE BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY.

At this time of serious danger we are anxious you should thoroughly realize that this awful catastrophy, which will turn the greater part of Europe into a vast shambles, and send thousands to their death at sea, is the result of the alliances, ententes, and understandings entered into and "assurances" given by the Governments and Chancellories of Europe without any reference whatsoever to the peoples themselves. It is not a war of the peoples.

Never again must we entrust our foreign affairs to secret diplomacy. Never again must we regard foreign policy as being something with which we have no concern. The terrible period which we have yet to encounter and pass through must teach us a never-to-be-forgotten lesson. The war will break down the ententes, alliances and understandings made without our knowledge and consent. Then will come the opportunity for a genuine democratic agreement between the peoples themselves.

FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY.

It is the future of the nation, it is the life of France that is in question to-day. The party has not hesitated.

Spontaneously, without awaiting a manifestation of the will of the people, the chief of the Government has appealed to our party. Our party has replied: Present.

To-day, as yesterday, after the first proofs, as in the enthusiasm of the mobilization, we know we are struggling, not only for the existence of the country, not only for the grandeur of France, but for liberty, for the republic, for civilization.

We are struggling that the world, freed from the stifling oppression of imperialism and from the atrocities of the war, should finally enjoy peace and the respect of the rights of all.

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Socialist party of the United States hereby extends its sympathy to the workers of Europe in their hour of trial, when they have been plunged into bloody and senseless conflict by ambition-crazed monarchs, designing politicians and scheming capitalists.

We bid them to consider that the workers of the various nations involved have no quarrel with each other, and that the evils from which they suffer—poverty, want, unemployment, oppression—are inflicted upon them not by the workers of some other country, but by the ruling classes of their own country.

The Socialist Party of the United States, in conformity with the declarations of the international Socialist movement, hereby reiterates its opposition to this and all other wars, waged upon any pretext whatsoever; war being a crude, savage and unsatisfactory method of settling real or imaginary differences between nations, and destructive of the ideals of brotherhood and humanity to which the international Socialist movement is dedicated.

The Socialist Party of the United States hereby calls upon all foreign-born workingmen residing in this country, particularly upon those whose home governments are engaged

in the present strife, to hold joint mass meetings for the purpose of emphasizing the fraternity and solidarity of all working people, irrespective of color, creed, race or nationality. We call upon the Socialist locals throughout the country to promote such meetings and to give all possible assistance.

The Socialist Party of the United States hereby pledges its loyal support to the Socialist parties of Europe in any measures they might think it necessary to undertake to advance the cause of peace and of good-will among men.

The Socialist Party of the United States hereby calls upon the national administration to prove the genuineness of its policy of peace by opening immediate negotiations for mediation and extending every effort to bring about the speedy termination of this disastrous conflict.

The Crumbling Pillars

By Frank Bohn

With all its horrors we must admit that war—real war—performs the indubitable service of being an acid test of the social relationships and the intellectual claims of mankind.

"LAW."

On August 1, 1914, the law of Western Europe was seized and thrown, temporarily, into the waste basket. That law, originally created out of a blending of the customary law of medieval barbarism with the results of the study of Roman precedents, had grown to be the first pillar of capitalist private property. True, in Germany and Austria, tough old remnants of feudalism and monarchy still remained, but primarily the business of government in those countries has been the same as in Great Britain, France and the United States—that is, the protection of private property at home and the policing of foreign and less developed countries after their populations had been crushed by physical force and thus made ready for the commercial drummers of home capitalists. "The Executive of the Modern State is but a Committee for managing the common affairs of the whole Bourgeoisie," says the Communist Manifesto.

So they taught that the law was sacred, did these lawyers. To oppose private property as the all-ruling force in society was to be an "anarchist," a "dangerous character," an "enemy of mankind."

"The first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers," said Dick the Butcher, when he was on his way to London with Wat Tyler and John Ball. In 1381 this was a perfectly natural, rightful instinct on the part of the revolting peasants. "We don't wish to be branded in the forehead with a red-hot iron when we ask for higher wages," said the peasants. "Oh, it is lawful for you to be so burned," replied the lawyers, "therefore we don't wish to hear any illegal phrases out of your mouth, when the iron is put to you." And, no doubt, they emphasized their advice and decision by quoting copious precedents in medieval Latin.

During periods of protracted peace our modern capitalists, assisted in Colorado and West Virginia by hired gun-men, in New York by Tammany police, in Germany by the Kaiser and his officers, enforce the "law" exactly in so far as their interests demand. Only conditions of war indicate the actual capitalist attitude toward the laws of their own making. If you wish to know what Rockefeller and Rockefellerism really thinks of the law in Colorado, go and seek for an answer in the black ashes of the stricken field of Ludlow. To-day the lawyers of Brussels are refusing to draw up documents, officials are refusing to serve papers, and judges are refusing to hold court. What reports from the war the newspapers give us would not seem to indicate, however, that either the Kaiser or Field Marshal

von der Goltz are much troubled by the recalcitrancy of the learned gentlemen of the Brussels bench and bar.

When American capitalists, touring Germany and France, had their automobiles seized by details of soldiers and were forced to walk miles before they could get a morsel to eat, they received a most excellent lesson in the fundamental nature of law. *Law is law only so long as it has physical force behind it and the general material interests of a class behind the physical force.*

"LEARNING."

When, in medieval Palermo, there was founded the first school of science in the modern world, its purpose was to increase the knowledge of mankind with reference to disease. When the medieval teacher of the University of Paris, of Heidelberg, or of Oxford, lived with his students and labored and debated with them over occult passages in Aristotle, he proceeded on the assumption that learning was in itself a very great good. In the medieval church intellectual culture was the beloved servant of religion. From the Rennaisance until the beginning of the 19th century the foundations of culture, laid in the knowledge of the classics, were the priceless objects of the studious efforts of the few aristocrats of mankind. Even fifty years ago, at Yale, Harvard or Princeton our young Americans of the "better classes" pursued their studies in the same spirit in which Prince Rupert or Robert E. Lee went to war. To their minds the supreme experience of life, the most delectable pastime of a true gentleman, was to know, to think, and to understand.

To-day our endless varieties of commercial, industrial, and professional high schools and colleges turn out hordes of undeveloped young persons whose business it is at school to make some sort of preparation for getting a living in a hard world. Their eyes are upon jobs. The Rockefeller Coal Company, in Colorado, wants a mine engineer for the purpose of reducing costs—that is, to the end of getting more money out of fewer men in less time than at present. So Harvard and Yale, Princeton and Cornell, Michigan and Leland Stanford compete with one another in the production of the cheapest possible intellectual wage-earners for this market. In Germany and France the competition is far more keen than it is here.

Of course we need hardly mention here the results attained by the "snap-courses" of a few eastern American universities which cater to the sons and daughters of the idle rich. Those have no possible connection with anything which anybody would call "learning." Oxford and Cambridge still exist as fashionable clubs for the training of "gentlemen." But modern universities, the world over, especially in Germany and the United States, are supported by the rich and by governments because, in the long run, they are a good financial investment.

"The bourgeoisie cannot exist," says the Communist Manifesto, "without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production and thereby the relations of production and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguished the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts in the air. All that is holy is profane, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life and his relations with his kind."

The last sentence of this quotation acquires a new meaning under the terrible pressure of the great world war. Germany was supposed to be, by the men of the universities the world over, the repository of humanity's soundest ideals of culture through the acquisition of learning. But the German capitalists

wanted markets. So they consented to send the booted and bespangled legions of the Kaiser to do their terrible work at Louvain and Rheims. Meanwhile, while our learned brothers and teachers, Harnack and Eucken, quote scripture in defense of this procedure, the aged Wundt makes of what will probably be his last important word to the world, a defense of ghastly crime. Crowds of university students at Berlin and Leipzic lead the mobs which hound foreigners through the streets, belaboring them with fists and canes. Roentgen and others have disavowed the honors showered upon them by English and other foreign universities and have presented certain gold medals to their governments to be melted into money, the "tie that binds" in 1914. This in the Germany which, in the bloodiest throes of the Napoleonic wars, welcomed and loved Madame de Stael and gave her a home at the international hearthstones of Goethe and Schiller. Truly "learning" in all lands is far gone in its dull-witted service to insane greed.

We endow scholarships in chemistry and mechanics and the recipients of higher degrees thereupon go forth and invent appliances for murder, until the dread machinery of war, mountain high, topples over upon and smashes the granary, the bakeshop and the kindergarten.

"Your school may be all right," said a local manager of the Steel Trust, at Gary, Ind., to the Superintendent of Schools, "but you are not turning out working men. Your scholars will all know so much that they will wish to be bosses." The Steel Trust, of course, wants men who will be willing to work twelve hours a day for fifteen cents an hour, and to live like animals, without hope of anything better in this world. Learning, indeed! the only desirable representatives of "learning" in the eyes of the Steel Trust, and of the ruling classes the world over, are graduates of technical schools who will work until middle age for fifty dollars a month each.

"RELIGION."

After quite a little had happened in the way of burning cities, sinking shiploads of people, blowing up whole battalions of soldiers by the use of hidden mines and electrical wiring, and stabbing and shooting scores of thousands on the fields where the armies of Napoleon had stabbed and shot hundreds, the Kaiser delivered himself of the following speech:

"For our victory we are thankful, in the first place, to our old God. He will not desert us, since we stand for a holy cause. . . . We still have many a bloody battle before us. Let us hope for further successes like this. We shall not relent, and we shall get to the enemy's hide. We shall not lose faith and trust in our good old God up there."

Meanwhile, the British soldiers seem to be developing the habit of kneeling down by regiments before battle and preceding a bayonet charge by a hasty word from the "Book of Common Prayer." Special prayers are being said for the victory of British arms in all the churches of Great Britain. The Czar, spiritual head of the Christian Church in Russia, has issued an official manifesto declaring that the war upon Germany is a "Holy War." And stalwart Russian priests, in full regimentals, accompany the troops upon the march—priestly robes dragging in the blood-soaked dirt and crosses dangling from their necks. In Germany the Catholic bishops blessed the German arms in company with the clergy of the Protestant Church. The politicians and capitalists of Great Britain are now urging the Catholics and Protestants of embittered Ireland, who, a short two months ago, were being set upon each other by political intriguers, to be united in Christian fellowship against the Germans. On the bloody fields of the Continent they are to join with the Catholics, Protestants, Atheists and Jews of France, in stabbing, shooting and blowing up the Catholics, Protestants, Atheists and Jews of Germany.

In America October 4th was set aside as a day of prayer for the return of peace. Were the worshippers indeed to pray that no more battleships shall be built and that no more weapons shall be forged and borne by men in America? No, indeed! President Wilson, who announces this day of prayer, consents, meanwhile, to laying the keels of three dreadnoughts this year. Were the Christian people of America to pray that powder and ball should be thrown into the sea, that the armor plate of the battleships should be melted and made into pots and pans, that, in a word, the aims of the Socialists should come to pass, what would become of the Dupont Powder Trust, the Union Metallic Cartridge Co., and numerous other "employers of labor"? They would be without orders and their demise would "hurt business." So a prayer is raised not for the end of warlike preparations, but for a temporary cessation of hostilities, a sort of armed truce.

"CULTURE."

Dear to the heart of the more frivolous among our parasitic class is that evanescent something called by the name "culture." It remains for Professor Brander Matthews to give the official sanction of "culture" in America to the British - French - Russian Allies. His statement is in the nature of a rejoinder, the preceding argument of the "cultured" of Germany running something like this:

"We are the most cultivated people in the world. Our culture is, at root, better than that of any other people. Look at Hegel! Read 'Fliegende Blätter'! Think of how many new drugs and dyes our chemists have invented! Therefore you ought to be willing, with perfect *sang-froid,* to accept the point of a bayonet in the pit of your stomach. Think of the cause you die in—the cause of German culture, which, expanding about the world, shall make sausage of all of you."

Do you think this is an exaggerated view of the German attitude? Read the appeal to the American universities made by Professors Eucken and Haeckel. These distinguished representatives of such different philosophies of human life and of the universe take their stand together exactly where we have placed them above. "These (American) universities," they write, "know what German culture means to the world, so we will trust they will stand by Germany."

But Brander Matthews cannot accept this view. Gallantly indeed does this knight, "in shining armor," wield his weapon in the defense of Franco-Anglo-American "culture." The Germans have kept the medieval form of alphabet. That is "barbarous." Therefore may the French and British guns send their shot home and may the German alphabet be hurled into hell, there to languish forever with the accursed souls of the barbarians who do not hesitate to inflict it upon suffering humanity. "Manners," continues Prof. Matthews, "are the outward and visible sign of civilization, and . . . in this respect the Germans have not yet attained the standard set by the French and English."

Now, at last, we know the real issue. It is one of "manners." So if the Germans only knew what is behind those British dreadnoughts they would surrender forthwith.

The Socialist argument has ever emphasized that any and every form of class rule inevitably resulted in self-destruction. Every expression of the class interest in Government and law, in the arts and sciences, in their ever-renewed philosophies, must be ephemeral. Their results are all tested anew each time a new ruling class appears upon the scene. The strivings of the human mind forward, the coming rise of the working class to power will not be prevented, it will be hastened, by this war. With it will come a new law, a new attitude toward learning, and a wholly new culture, based upon world organization and social brotherhood.

The I. S. S. and the War

By A. T. Trachtenberg
Formerly President of Yale Society for the Study of Socialism

The present conflagration in Europe, as a result of which nations may be made and unmade, economic progress retarded or advanced, archaic political institutions strengthened or swept away, offers an important subject of study to our Chapters in the various colleges and universities.

I take it that the purpose of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society and its component parts is a constructive evaluation of the social forces at work in Society. If this is so, it is surely our duty to understand the gigantic forces leading to this, already named, *The Great War,* which is bound to affect, directly and indirectly, the welfare of people of the whole world.

The subject of militarism, its cause and effect, has not as yet been made a special course of study and discussion among our Chapters. The ignorance of the problem of international relations, a subject of increasing moment in view of the ever greater interdependence of nations in economics, education and art, can be matched only by the ignorance on the subject of Socialism.

In discussing elsewhere (*Cosmopolitan Student,* June 1914) the need of studying this problem, I said:

"Just as the sentimental philanthropist will not solve the social problem, so the sentimental peace advocates will not contribute a great deal to the solution of the complicated international problem. Only an understanding of the causes which make for poverty, child labor, prostitution, or a class-war in Colorado and the realization of the inevitable results of the existence of such institutions, will enable us to fight for the abolition of what are generally considered the curses of modern society.

"The same reasoning holds true in considering the problem of international relations. Only a clear understanding of the causes which make for militarism and the resultant wars and the realization of the social consequences of this institution, will enable us to deal intelligently with the problems of war and peace."

The leaders of Socialist thought and movement have always pointed out the international character of Socialism and have claimed that in time of a crisis, brought about, on the one hand, by the desire of the powers-that-be for imperialistic aggrandizement, and, on the other, by the spread of chauvinistic passions among the masses of the people, the class-conscious proletariat, trained in the principles of international Socialism, would assert itself as the one great power ready, at all costs, to prevent the adventures of the governments of the countries involved.

We are informed, at present, that this whole fabric was torn asunder at the first onrush of national feelings and prejudice and that the hope that the international solidarity of the Socialist workingmen, through their influence on the toilers of the world, would be able to avert the catastrophy, was nothing but a dream.

The students of Socialism who comprise the membership of our Chapters desire an explanation of the attitude of the Socialist parties in the countries at war as well as of the International Socialist movement. It is our hope that through its central organization, the I. S. S. will come to their assistance.

There are other organizations in our colleges and universities which will discuss the present war. The various Cosmopolitan Clubs, embracing students from different parts of the world, and the newly formed International Polity Clubs, having as their aim the fathoming of the seemingly mysterious problem of international diplomacy, should be invited by the I. S. S. Chapters to cooperate in the endeavor to bring before the student bodies the different interpretations of the forces leading to the war, as well as of the effects of the present conflict.

Anti-Socialistic Somnambulism

By Paul H. Douglas,
President Columbia University Socialist Study Club

The walls of our colleges and universities have rung with the clash of Kant versus Keats, of Chateaubriand and Zola, of Loyola and Montessori. The minutiae of evolution with the convolutions of Weissman, DeVries, and Mendel have been thoroughly thrashed over by biologists, laymen, and even by the clergy. Seminars are even now greatly discussing the comparative advantages of limestone and potash as fertilizers.

And all this with reason, too, for the only way to get a clear focus of ideas and to see problems in their proper light with the background and foreground correctly adjusted, is by just such discussions as these. By the combat and clangor of dispute and discussion, misty thoughts are clarified and blinded eyes see the light.

But with all this intellectual activity, why should the one big field of Socialism be neglected? For a word that is on so many lips and which disturbs the slumber of so many readers of *The Evening Post,* it is fearfully and wonderfully unknown. Never in the history of etymology has a single word been applied to so many varying ideas. What a witches' broth has been made to simmer together in the one capacious cauldron: communism, anarchy, free love, and better milk for babies. What terrific encounters would ensue, if all the people who have been called Socialists were to be herded together in one room, for this word has been applied to persons of such varying temperaments as William J. Bryan, "Big Bill" Haywood, Lyman Abbott, Alexander Berkman, and Lillian Wald.

The term "Socialism" has taken on its terrifying mystery because it has not been brought out into the daylight of intelligent discussion, just as the harmless pumpkin jack'o'lantern becomes at night a horrible, grinning ogre. Though the interest of educated men and women has changed from the humanities to humanity, and though Wells has replaced Matthew Arnold on our bookshelves, yet we are crassly ignorant of both the philosophy and the details of the whole movement. What blind magic is contained in the term "ism," if it can transform eager interest in things *social* to a blind distrust and hatred of *Socialism*? There is more accurate knowledge of what is meant by, and what are the main arguments for Socialism in the talk of laboring-men, than in the disquisitions of doctors of philosophy.

Says the Wall Street man, "It's all very well in theory, but the government could never manage it all, the governmental service is so inefficient." Mr. Broker, did you ever hear of the Illinois Central scandal, or of a road called the New Haven, and on the other hand did you ever hear of Goethals and of Cromer?

Thunders the cleric, "It is a belly philosophy, it cares for men's bodies, not their souls." Yet the churches are carrying out Stanley Jevons' maxim that the satisfaction of lower wants makes possible the gratification of the higher, when they give free suppers to the "down-and-outers" in order that these may be converted approximately an hour later.

From the depths of a comfortable club chair, flanked by soda siphons, there comes to us the lisp of the leisured loafer, "Yes, but it will destroy ambition. No one will have any incentive to work, and nothing will be done." My dear sir, I wonder if you are aware of the interesting psychical fact that the motives of work are those of self-expression rather than of reward, and what is more, that they are capable of being made increasingly so.

We have heard grave professors of political economy carefully and laboriously refute the labor theory of value as advanced by Marx, and then confidently and smilingly assert that they have overthrown the entire basis of Socialism.

Let us get the proper perspective and approach the subject freed from passion and from prejudice. Let us read, think, discuss. Let us regard the matter as a question of objective fact rather than a personal affair. Let us not try to coerce, to cajole, or to condemn. Let the men and women in every college, of all classes and natives of all countries be given an opportunity to know, to understand, and to form an intelligent estimate of what it all means. And finally, as the goal of all thought—let us act.

REVIEW OF BOOKS*

THE WORLD SET FREE: A STORY OF MANKIND. By H. G. Wells. N. Y.: Dutton. $1.25.

A paleontologist reconstructing a mammoth from a rib exhibits a less striking and perhaps less constructive imagination than H. G. Wells in the possession of a new idea, although this is probably an hourly occurrence. "The World Set Free: A Study of Mankind" is the modest deduction Wells has most recently drawn from one chapter of a book on radium. The worst of Wells's divinations is that they are generally plausible. He makes the reader breathless with the flight of his imagination, but he is frequently unanswerable. This latest book deals with the end of war and the introduction of universal peace owing to the use of the latest scientific discovery for the annihilation of life. Bulwer Lytton's vril is of small potency compared with Wells's radio-activity, but Wells is entirely within the range of scientific deduction. Bulwer Lytton was a visionary; Wells is a forecaster. The present war may achieve Wells's goal with powder; it certainly would with a radio-active explosive.

Wells here starts as a red-headed, freckled-faced boy in a laboratory and emerges with a discovery that is to transform the world. Obviously he is no microscopic thaumaturge of the laboratory, but a man, a full-sized, red-blooded man with science up his sleeve. He listens to the commonplace visions of a love-making couple on the Thames Embankment and says to himself, "I had a sense of all this globe as that." Yet there is a power in mankind to build something greater and more beautiful. "Man had not been always thus: the instincts and desires of the little home, the little plot, was not all his nature; also he was an adventurer, an experimenter, an unresting curiosity, an insatiable desire." Says Wells's hero, "If there have been home and routine and the field, there have also been wonder and the sea." This is autobiography and so it makes the book interesting, although it is not up to the Wells standard. There are scintillating projections of world statesmanship. He says again, "Men who think in lifetimes are of no use to statesmanship." But there may be some day a new statesmanship.

When the nations of Europe are well nigh annihilated and the rulers of the world have gathered together in a back corner of Europe to plan the world's peace, the king with a vision says, "I want to make it clear how small are men and days, and how great is man in

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*A number of important Book Reviews written for this issue have been postponed until the Dec.-Jan. number on account of the extent of the material on war.

comparison." That this is not Utopian Wells points out in showing the trend of the nineteenth century. "One sees it as a huge tissue of variations upon one theme, the conflict of human egotism and personal passion and narrow imagination on the one hand, against the growing sense of wider necessities and a possible, more spacious life." As the world has grown larger, it has grown smaller. While we have been learning to comprehend man, he has grown in stature beyond the conception of earlier centuries.

Of course, Wells cannot conclude his story of the world at peace without at least acknowledging the existence of sex. It is hard to prognosticate the remote future and give the proper perspective to the elemental. Is love only in the program of youth? As the world matures will love recede? One of Wells's characters says, "This sexual excitement, this love story, is just a part of growing up, and we grow out of it." Is this again autobiographical? At least Wells answers it in the terms of his clear vision: how could nations subdue jealousy and individuals not grow freer? The intimate connection of personal and social jealousy shown so clearly in "The Passionate Friends" is not overlooked in this more constructive story. "Man lives in the dawn forever," says the scientist who has climbed to the Himalayan hospital to die. "Life is beginning and nothing else but beginning. It begins everlastingly. The corollary of economic and political peace is new life. Now, lifted above sordid distresses, men and women might hope for realized and triumphant love." The significance of even this slight contribution of H. G. Wells is that a fearless and well trained scientist, unhampered by professional obligations, makes a good guesser.

CHARLES ZUEBLIN.

SONGS OF LABOR, AND OTHER POEMS. By Morris Rosenfeld. Translated from the Yiddish by Rose Pastor Stokes and Helena Frank. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 75 pp.

CHALLENGE. By Louis Untermeyer. New York: The Century Co. 144 pp.

Morris Rosenfeld's poetry has previously been known to American readers only in a literal prose translation by Leo Wiener, now out of print. It may therefore be necessary to explain that he is a poet of the East Side Ghetto of New York, whose verses are known and loved by hundreds of thousands of sweat-shop toilers. It is hard to review a translation of poetry when one cannot read the original. All I can say is that the version now published is in its form acceptable, while its contents are of intense interest to those who care about the realities of modern life. The best thing to do is to quote a sample, and let the reader judge for himself.

THE PALE OPERATOR.

If but with my pen I could draw him,
With terror you'd look in his face;
For he, since the first day I saw him,
Has sat there and sewed in his place.

Years pass in procession unending,
And ever the pale one is seen,
As over his work he sits bending,
And fights with the soulless machine.

I feel, as I gaze at each feature,
Perspiring and grimy and wan,
It is not the strength of the creature,—
The will only, urges him on.

And ever the sweat-drops are flowing,
They fall o'er his thin cheek in streams,
They water the stuff he is sewing.
And soak themselves into the seams.

How long shall the wheel yet, I pray you,
Be chased by the pale artisan?
And what shall the ending be, say you?
Resolve the dark riddle who can!

I know that it cannot be reckoned,—
But one thing the future will show:
When this man has vanished, a second
Will sit in his place there and sew.

Louis Untermeyer's volume is full of beautiful poetry on many themes, and is making for its author a considerable

reputation. The present writer is so much absorbed in our economic problems that it is such poems which have especially caught his attention. Here again is a sample:

CALIBAN IN THE COAL MINES.

God, we don't like to complain—
We know that the mine is no lark—
But—there's the pools from the rain;
But—there's the cold and the dark.

God, You don't know what it is—
You, in Your well-lighted sky,
Watching the meteors whizz;
Warm, with the sun always by.

God, if You had but the moon
Stuck in Your cap for a lamp,
Even You'd tire of it soon,
Down in the dark and the damp.

Nothing but blackness above,
And nothing that moves but the cars—
God, if You wish for our love,
Fling us a handful of stars!

UPTON SINCLAIR.

MODERN INDUSTRY. By Florence Kelley. N. Y.: Longmans. $1.00.

Modern industry in relation to the family, health, education and morality. Under this title, Mrs. Kelley has made a most trenchant review of our present industrial system. As is stated in a prefatory note, the book is the substance of four lectures that were delivered at Teachers' College, Columbia University, in 1913, "amplified to accord with the unprecedently rapid progress of legislation."

In her forceful and penetrating way, Mrs. Kelley tells us many things of which we need to be reminded again and again. The first two lectures are specific indictments of modern industry on the ground (1) that it "tends to disintegrate the family," and (2) that "it exerts a continuous injurious influence upon masses of those who consume its products or work in its service." In the last two lectures, Mrs. Kelley challenges our educational system and "our accepted morality" in their relation to industrial organization.

The book, however, is much more than a review of the charges that may be made against a capitalistic system of industry. It brings out the stupidity of a society that suffers poverty of body and soul in the midst of unprecedented power to produce the material foundations of life. "Our own lack of vision," it is, that stands in the way of making industrial power and capacity serve to promote mental and spiritual life. With the methods of control at hand in the legislative and administrative agencies of a democratic form of government, it is plain that we may regulate the industrial processes of production and distribution in the interests of noble living as soon as we have a mind to.

The reader will find in the small compass of "Modern Industry" a body of sound concrete facts, keen reflection upon the changes that the profit-seeking capitalistic system has brought into human society, and wise comment upon the forces that are already at work and that may be initiated to provide "the conditions necessary to a higher and finer civilization.

EMILIE J. HUTCHINSON.

SOCIALISM AND MOTHERHOOD. By John Spargo. N. Y.: Huebsch, 1914. 128 pages. 60 cents.

It is difficult to classify this little volume. The author states that he has written it in the hope that it "will make clear the promise of Socialism to many mothers and drive the fear of Socialism from their hearts and minds." But it hardly seems simple and direct enough for that. In spite of his good intentions, we fear Mr. Spargo has not been able to project himself into the psychology of the average mother and appeal to her in her own tongue.

Moreover, in his zeal to reassure her, he is prone to side-step questions which Socialists themselves have by no means settled. It is true that no Socialist believes in the "supplanting" of the individual mother by the communal nursery.

But what about a judicious mixture of both? Besides, how can "experience plainly teach that it is far better to place the little ones in real homes, no matter how humble (!)," when no one has ever seen even the faintest approach to the kind of communal nurseries the Socialists have in mind?

The historical survey of Free Love, in which the second part of the book, entitled "The Mother's Fear," largely consists, is very interesting. But our fear is that it will prove more interesting to the general reader or even to the Socialist than to the average mother, to allay whose fear it has been written.

Hence our difficulty in classification. The book offers the uninformed mother too much and those informed on Socialism too little: exactly what portion of the reading public, therefore, is it going to profit?

Since the book is reviewed just at this time we cannot refrain from calling attention to the close of the first part, entitled "The Angel's Gifts," in which Mr. Spargo in rapt passages explains the Socialist position on war. What irony today to read Bebel's words, on hearing of the enormous Socialist vote in 1912: "The peace of Europe is now assured!" Or Mr. Spargo's own words: "What an inspiration to believe . . . that never again shall vultures prey upon bloody and corpse-strewn battlefields!" We are sadly afraid that if the mother's fear is to be silenced now, Mr. Spargo will have to add a new explanation.

ANITA C. BLOCK.

THESE SHIFTING SCENES. By Charles Edward Russell. N. Y.: Doran. $1.50.

"These Shifting Scenes," Charles Edward Russell's latest book, is a volume of fascinating memoires drawn from his 25 years of experience as a journalist and must naturally appeal with very special force to newspapermen and all who plan to enter newspaper work. Its appeal is by no means limited to this narrow group alone, however. The broad "human interest" of its subject matter should win for it a universal popularity.

In this book, Mr. Russell, in graphic and happy vein, relates a multitude of personal exploits and observations that rival the best of fiction in the intensity of their interest. Beginning with a eulogistic sketch of "Scotty," an old-time tramp printer, the author recounts one newspaper memoire after another down to the days of his city editorship on the biggest New York dailies, and closes with an instructive chapter, written with glowing enthusiasm, on "The Art of Reporting." This latter, the youth aspiring to enter journalism may read with profit, the veteran scribe with pride for his profession and all other folks with heightened respect for the newspaper craft — together with disrespect for the economic conditions that now hamper its full and free expression. At the beginning of the book one gets the impression that Mr. Russell is setting out to prove that the determining factor in all success is "purely fortuitous circumstance." In this closing chapter, however, he tempers this dictum with the admission that "patience, persistence, courage, a study of the work in hand are doubtless potent factors in a reporter's success," though "sheer luck also has its place."

A multitude of widely varied and unusual character sketches drawn from life; instructive sidelights—and searchlights—upon notable historic events toward the close of the past century; entertaining tales of adventure, mystery and humor; keen criticism of economic and political conditions — all combine to give "These Shifting Scenes" the charm implied in the claim that "truth is stranger than fiction." It is safe to say, however, that no better understanding of the inner significance of the famous Haymarket riots or the national politics of the 80's and

early 90's can be obtained than from this book from the pen of Mr. Russell. His chapters on "The Case of William Heilwagner," "The Man Out of Work," "The Streets and the Island," serve as excellent opportunities for his characteristic criticisms of modern social ills, while his tales of "The Loss of the Danmark," of "The Rocky Road to Jamestown," "The Mystery That Had No Ending," "The Clinic That Went Wrong," and of numerous other adventures and reportorial "beats" are delightfully entertaining.

All in all, "These Shifting Scenes" may be said to be crammed full of all the fascination of a personal visit behind the scenes, for it furnishes an intimate view of the way things work on the stage of real life beyond the view of the ordinary spectator.

EDWIN A. FIELD.

RISE OF THE WORKING CLASS. By Algernon Sidney Crapsey. N. Y.: Century.

To Ibsen's statement that women and labor were the two next classes awaiting emancipation, Algernon Crapsey in his "Rise of the Working Class" adds a third, the child, and outlines the forces which have been working towards the emancipation of this enslaved trinity.

The same economic forces which have been breaking down the old relation of master and servant have been condemning the authority of men as masters of the family. We are given with such realism a picture of the disintegrating tendencies in family life that we might easily forget that man as master over woman and child has not already disappeared from the face of the earth. The author admits that here and there in Europe there still are in existence men who rule their households. But even the most uncompromising pro-woman woman must feel a pang of compassion for the passing of the lord and master as she reads the chapter entitled "The Downfall of the Father." At the same time the true feminist, like Candida, will recognize the downfall as the price of his own liberation, perhaps a liberation even greater than her own, who can say?

In the Chapters on woman it is recognized that the conscious movement for woman's emancipation is confined to the middle class and that the reason for this is that capitalism in its development has robbed the middle class woman of her occupation until, overwhelmed by the sense of the void, she has begun her search for a new basis and reason for existence. In the chapter on the "Out-family Woman" one might conclude that the middle class woman had already made her discovery and had realized it in its fullness. The author finds that

> "she is no longer dependent upon her father, husband or brother, but she is making her own way in life. It is becoming as common for the woman to be without the family as for the man. She no longer keeps her hours, she does not seclude herself by day or by night. She goes about her business, whatever that business may be, without asking permission of any man."

A feminine feminist could not have written so confidently of the accomplishment of this transformation, for she is still too conscious of the birth pains of her new life. But Dr. Crapsey has set himself the task of making the non-socialist and the anti-feminist realize that it is capitalism which has destroyed the home. For that purpose he has adopted the realistic method of picturing certain blatant tendencies of our time as conditions established. If he can make his readers feel that the family is destroyed and not merely in danger of being, and that capitalism is actually on the brink of capitulation, as he confidently states, he will create a state of mind ready to accept the first substitute at hand which obviously is the State. He points out furthermore that Socialists are not more ardent in

their chase for the substitute than are other large sections of the Community. He quotes the "Socialistic" reforms in England for which Lloyd George has stood sponsor as cases in point and groups them very rightly with Germany's state action which he attributes to the German Socialists—and which are alike breaking up capitalism and paving the way for the Socialist state. He calls what is actually state capitalism, that is, state regulation in a capitalist society, State Socialism. His conception of Socialism is State Socialism, that is the ownership and administration of wealth by a bureaucratic state.

Dr. Crapsey sees before him a clear road to the summit. He sees none of the shackles for labor which lie hidden in the statutes speciously called "labor legislation" enacted by a capitalist or even a benevolent state. Like all Socialists he sees the capitalist system breaking up of its own weight and like the majority of Socialists he fails to recognize (as he does in the case of the child) that labor can not be free and dominant except through its own adventure. The substitution of state control for private is indeed too much of a reality for us not to predict its further extension, but many Socialists have still to realize that an extension of state action does not necessarily bring with it industrial democracy. The author speaks of the class struggle, but in the advent of Socialism he sees less of a struggle than a landslide. The fights of the economic organizations are for him evidently a blind protest without creative impulse or direction. He tells us that

> "the wiser among the leaders of the working class movement are determined that this battle shall be fought to a conclusion on the line of political activity. So great have been the advantages which have accrued from political action that the so-called direct actionist finds himself an outlaw in the great working class political organizations."

Although the author is writing to convince the middle class that Socialism is coming of itself and to reassure it, he offers his converts who would enter the movement and help in the good work no rewards.

While our author's conception of the future state is bureaucratic, there are some fine evidences in this book of appreciation of the unorganized life forces.

> "Organization and life," he writes, "are always in conflict. They are necessary each to the other, but they cannot live in peace together. Organization limits life, and to limit life is to destroy it. Life having used an organization to the uttermost, then turns upon it and destroys it and builds a new organization for its new and larger living. This is the perpetual tragedy of existence. . . . Reverence and adventure are at odds with one another in every family, every church, every political party . . . ."

HELEN MAROT.

ARROWS IN THE GALE. By Arturo Giovannitti. Introduction by Helen Keller. Riverside, Conn.: Hillacre Bookhouse.

Here is to be found the Dream of Giovannitti caught between two covers and made our precious possession forever. It is good to be able thus to welcome the poems we know so well, such as "The Walker," "To a Bench in Mulberry Park," "The Green Cage," and to find them interpreted to a newer constituency by the comprehending sympathy of Helen Keller's introduction.

That this first edition opens our doors to a new poet not even those critics who have not dreamed the Dream can doubt, for a noble, sustained beauty of idealizing thought and form is here. One who but seventeen years ago adopted our language as his own in this group of twenty-four poems makes barely three lapses into "poetic license."

But the glory of Giovannitti is that while he speaks with "the tongues of angels," he has love in his heart, a great and tender love for the least

among us, the despised bum, the Magdalene, the prisoner.

Although in his "Proem" he lays claim to no mission, saying "these are but songs,"

"The blows of my own sledge
Against the walls of my own jail,"

yet from title to finish the book throbs with the heart of the social revolution. In it we see the whole range of its emotions and hopes, its "vengeance and joy." "Two Messengers," he sings of:

"One, white-clad, who shall bear the salt and bread
Of peace, and one, who cloaked in gory red
Shall bring the everlasting doom of hate."

His "fierce heart aglow with anger and with steel" sings "just for the rage of the song" and in other mood he recounts as well "the sunward march of countless men." Those who are disturbed by the wrath of the gale which blows through the leaves of the book, must treasure its Dream, which shows after the clearing of the storm the peaceful windless meadows, the flowers in the sun, the joyful children and happy men of the co-operative commonwealth.

CARO LLOYD.

BOOKS OF INTEREST.

The following books have been received, and will be reviewed in a later number:

Socialism—Promise or Menace. By Morris Hillquit and Dr. John A. Ryan N. Y.: Macmillan. $1.25.

Abraham Lincoln. By Rose Strunsky. N. Y.: Macmillan.

American Labor Unions. By Helen Marot. N. Y.: Holt. $1.25.

The Mexican People: Their Struggle for Liberty. By Gutierrez de Lara and Edgcumb Pinchon. Garden City: Doubleday, Page. $1.50.

The State. By Prof. Oppenheimer.

The Collectivist State in the Making. By Emil Davies. London: Bell. $1.25.

Syndicalism in France. (Revised and enlarged.) By Louis Levine, Ph.D. N. Y.: Longmans. $2.00.

History of Socialism. By Thomas Kirkup. N. Y.: Macmillan. $1.50.

The Thracian Sea. By John Helston. N. Y.: Macmillan. $1.25.

The Call of the Carpenter. By Bouck White. Blackwell's Island Edition. N. Y.: Church of the Social Revolution. 50c. postpaid.

Doing Us Good and Plenty. By Charles Edward Russell. Chicago: Kerr. $.25.

Our Dishonest Constitution. By Allan L. Benson. N. Y.: Huebsch. Cloth, $1.00; paper, $.30.

The following books will throw light on modern wars:

The War in Europe. By Albert Bushnell Hart. N. Y.: D. Appleton & Co. $1.00.

The Human Slaughter-House. By Wilhelm Lamszus, with an introduction by Alfred Noyes. Chicago: Kerr. $.50.

The Great Illusion. By Norman Angell. N. Y.: Putnam. $1.00.

Arms and Industry. By Norman Angell. N. Y.: Putnam. $1.25.

The Passing of War. By Wm. L. Crane. N. Y.: Macmillan. $1.00.

War's Aftermath. By David Starr Jordan and Harvey Ernest Jordan. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. $.75.

War and Waste. By David Starr Jordan. Garden City: Doubleday, Page. $1.25.

Germany and England. By J. A. Cramb. N. Y.: Dutton. $1.00.

Germany and the Next War. By Gen. Friedrich von Bernhardi. N. Y.: Longmans. $3.00.

Pan-Germanism. By R. G. Usher. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. $1.75.

Imperial Germany. By Prince Bernhard von Buelow. N. Y.: Dodd Mead. $3.00.

Germany and the German Empire. By Herbert Perris. $3.00.

Germany: The Welding of a World Power. By Wolf von Schierbrand. $1.00.

War—What For? By Geo. R. Kirkpatrick. N. Y. P. O. Box 473. $.25.

The Franco-German War, 1870-71. By Count Moltke. $3.00.

Germany and Its Evolution in Modern Times. By Henri Lichtenberger. $2.50.

The Evolution of Modern Germany. By William Hurbutt Dawson. N. Y.; Scribner. Popular-priced edition.

Municipal Life and Government in Germany. By William Hurbutt Dawson. N. Y.: Longmans. $3.75.

Between the Old World and the New. By Gughelmo Ferrero. N. Y.: Putnam. $2.50.

Austria. By James Baker. $6.50.

An Economic History of Russia. By James Mayor. N. Y.: Dutton. $10.00.

An Industrial History of Modern England. By G. H. Perris. N. Y.: Holt. $2.00.

Report of the International Committte to Inquire Into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan War. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

College Notes

The college year just beginning gives promise of being the most fruitful in the history of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. College men and women throughout the country are desirous of knowing the attitude of the Socialists toward the present European war; the efforts made by them in Europe to avert the catastrophe; the reason for the failure of these efforts and the anti-militarist proposals which they are likely to make in the future. Finally they wish to know whether the contentions of the Socialists regarding the causes of war have been borne out by the present conflict, and whether or not there will be any guarantee of peace between nations so long as the present industrial system continues.

It will be the endeavor of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, through its magazine, its lecturers and leaflets, to throw light on these questions. It is the hope of the Society that, while not ignoring the other fundamentals of Socialism, the various Chapters will take the lead in explaining the forces making for peace and for war.

NEW ENGLAND STATES

The New England Committee of the I. S. S. is co-operating actively with the Society this year in organizing and strengthening study groups in the New England Colleges. Walter M. Hinkle, Williams, 1914, Harvard Law School, 1917, is assisting the committee in the capacity of organizer. Mr. Hinkle, while in Williams, was a member of the intercollegiate debating teams, president of the Economics Club and president of the Williams Chapter of the I. S. S. The full co-operation of the Chapters is bespoken Mr. Hinkle during the coming year.

The Yale Society for the Study of Socialism begins its fifth year of activities with the opening of the 1914-15 academic year. The successful policy of conducting debates and lectures will be continued. For the last three years the Society has held the most largely attended public lectures at Yale and it hopes this year to continue its educative work with as great success as formerly. Private gatherings of the members of the Society are being planned with addresses by invited speakers and the reading of papers by the members, followed by general discussion. The list of prospective members for this year outnumbers the membership lost through graduation. New blood has been injected into the Executive Committee of the Society, President Murphy, last year's treasurer, being the only old officer All of the six officers and members of the Executive Committee are Phi Beta Kappa men and prominent in Yale literary activities.

The following is a tentative list of speakers for the coming year: Morris Hillquit, Prof. William H. Taft, Dr. Felix Adler, Prof. Vida D. Scudder, Louis Brandeis, Robert Hunter, Dr. John A. Ryan, John Spargo, Robert A. Woods, Dr. Peter Roberts, Algernon Lee.

The officers for this year are DuBoise Murphy, 1915, president; Edward Glick, 1916, Law, vice-president; Thomas Duncan, 1915, secretary; D. G. Murphy, 1916, treasurer; C. R. Walker, Jr., 1916, member of the Executive Committee. A. L. T.

The officers for the coming year in WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY are A. J. Prince, president; F. R. Strassburg, vice-president; H. R. Smart, organizer, and A. P. Behrmann, secretary. The Chapter proposes this season the study of a number of fundamental questions of Social Reform.

MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

The COLUMBIA Chapter held its first meeting in Earl Hall on Thursday afternoon, October 8th. A large and intensely interested group of students were present to listen to an explanation of "The European War and Socialism," by Algernon Lee, director of the Rand School. Mr. Lee depicted in a masterly manner the economic forces leading to the war. Paul Douglas, Bowdoin, 1913, president of the Columbia Chapter, presided, and Harry W. Laidler, organizing secretary, said a few words. Wayne Wellman is secretary of the Chapter, and Messrs. Bobbe, Sholes, Stern, Dana and others are among the active spirits. Gustave A. Gerber, president of the CORNELL Chapter, reports an attendance of 25 at their first organization meeting and a fine enthusiasm for the year. James Alexander II. has returned from Europe to instruct in mathematics at PRINCETON and will continue his work in behalf of the Society at that College. He is running for Congress on the Socialist ticket in New Jersey. W. Evans Clarke, vice-president of the New York Alumni Chapter, is also teaching in Princeton. An effort is being made to organize a study group in NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, School of Commerce. At the last meeting of the year in ADELPHI, Rose Boenig and Louise Metzger were appointed a program committee for the coming season.

MIDDLE WEST

Dr. John C. Kennedy, state secretary of the Socialist Party in Illinois, writes that he trusts before the winter is over to see organizations established in every important educational institution in Illinois. Rev. Irwin Tucker, of *The Christian Socialist*, will speak in several colleges of the Middle West under the auspices of the Society during the coming year. Frank Bohn, Ph.D., will deliver a series

of lectures in the universities in Ohio this fall. The organizing secretary hopes this season to do more field work than in past years.

The UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS Chapter is planning to give public lectures every two weeks and to open an undergraduate section where problems can be discussed among students themselves more informally than can be done in public meetings. The officers of the branch are R. S. Loomis, president; E. R. Schultz, vice-president, and F. H. Murray, secretary and treasurer. "The War in Europe," the secretary writes, "should aid us in making this year more profitable and successful than ever before." Miss Frances Levin of the UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO Chapter promises to make the Chapter this year one of the most vital organizations in college. That the students in the UNIVERSITY OF VALPARAISO realize the part played by the intellectual proletariat in Society, and are willing to investigate anything that claims to have a remedy for existing evils, is the belief of Bryce Swartfarger of this university. The Chapter should flourish there this year. Ammon A. Hennacy, formerly president of Hiram College, is now at the UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN and promises his earnest co-operation in the strengthening of the organization in this home of liberalism.

PACIFIC COAST

Arthur E. L. Nelson, formerly president of the UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON Chapter promises his co-operation in strengthening the Chapter there this season. C. G. Maurer of the UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA is an active spirit in the organization in that college. "LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY needs a Chapter of the I. S. S.," writes Edward Goldberg. "There are about a dozen of us who are ready to form the nucleus of that need. We believe there is plenty of work for us here. We are anxious to give the 'cardinals' a blood red tint." Mr. Fribley, formerly president of the OHIO STATE Chapter, is now a student of Ohio State.

SOUTH

J. C. Duke, who is taking his last year in RICHMOND COLLEGE LAW, and acting at the same time as state secretary of the Virginia State Socialist Party, is planning to co-operate with the Society in organizing an alumni Chapter in Richmond.

ALUMNI CHAPTERS.

The New York Alumni Chapter will discuss this year the question of "Socialism and Social Reform" and "Socialism and War." The program is as follows: Nov. 5, "American Socialists and the War"; speakers, Algernon Lee, William English Walling. Nov. 19, "Socialism and the War"; speaker, Morris Hillquit. Dec. 3, "Social Insurance and Labor Legislation"; speakers, Dr. I. M. Rubinow, Paul Kennaday. Dec. 17, "Trade Unionism"; speakers, N. I. Stone, Harry W. Laidler. Jan. 7, "Immigration"; speakers, Meyer London, Dr. I. A. Hourwich. Jan. 21, "Unemployment"; speakers, Paul Kennaday, Juliet S. Poyntz. Feb. 4, "Women and Cildren in Industry"; speakers, Helen Marot, Elizabeth Dutcher. Feb. 18, "Municipal Socialism"; speaker, Frederick C. Howe (probably). Mar. 4, "Co-operation"; speakers, Florence Kelley, Sidney A. Reeve. Mar. 18, "The Minimum Wage"; speakers, Senator Robert Wagner (probably), Felix Grendon. Apr. 1, "The Race Problem"; speakers, Florence Kelley, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. Apr. 15, "Government Ownership of Railroads, Etc."; speakers, John Moody, Walter Lippmann.

The reply of Jessie W. Hughan, Ph.D., to Prof. Henry C. Emery's "Objections to Socialism" will be printed in the December-January issue of *The Intercollegiate Socialist*. The Yale Society for the Study of Socialism will have several short articles in this issue.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION ETC., OF THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST, published bi-monthly, excepting June, July, August, September, at New York, N. Y., required by the Act of August 24, 1912. Editor, Henry W. Laidler, 41 Union Sq., New York City. Managing Editor, Harry W. Laidler, 41 Union Sq., New York City. Business Manager, A. K. Boehme, 105 West 40th St., New York City. Publisher, Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 41 Union Sq., New York City. Owners: Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 41 Union Sq., N. Y. City. Membership approximately 2,000. The principal officers are: President, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Stamford, Conn.; 1st Vice-President, Florence Kelley, 106 E. 19th St., N. Y. C.; 2nd Vice-President, Ernest Poole, 130 W. 11th St., N. Y. C.; Treasurer, Morris Hillquit, 30 Church St., N. Y. C.; Secretary, Leroy Scott, 84 Grove St., N. Y. C.

There are no known bondholders, mortgagees or other security holders.

Harry W. Laidler, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this first day of October, 1914.

Stephen H. Tyng, Notary Public,

No. 3845, New York County, Register's No. 6037. (My commission expires March 30, 1916.)

Morris Hillquit will deliver three lectures in Cooper Union, New York, on "Socialism and War," as follows:

Lecture 1 (Nov. 12) Subject:

THE CAUSES OF WAR.

The Socialist view as expressed in national and international conventions. The nation as an economic unit. Commercial rivalry between nations. Colonial extension and imperialism. Standing armies and militarism. The test of the present war. Recent industrial development of the countries at war. Colonial policies and growth of militarism since the Franco-Prussian War.

Lecture 2 (Nov. 19) Subject:

SOCIALIST MEASURES AGAINST WAR AND POLICIES IN WAR.

Difference between the Socialist anti-war policy and the ethics of the "bourgeoisie" peace movements. Wars of aggression and wars of defense. Popular militia versus standing armies. Socialist attitude towards colonial policy. The stand of Socialist parties in the countries affected by this war: Belgium, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, England. The attiude of the Socialists in neutral countries: Italy. Holland, Sweden, Roumania, United States.

Lecture 3 (Nov. 23) Subject:

SUMMARY AND FORECAST.

Probable effect of the war on general progress; economic, social and political. Effect on the Socialist movement. Nationalism and internationalism.

The tickets for three lectures are: $1.00, $.50, $.35; for single lecture, $.50 to $.15. A rare opportunity for authoritative information on this important subject is here presented.

MAGAZINE ARTICLES.

Magazine and newspaper articles on "Socialism and the War" have appeared in part as follows: *Pearsons,* Oct., by Allan L. Benson; *Pearsons,* Nov., by Ch. Ed. Russell; *The Independent,* Aug. 24, and *Harpers Weekly,* Oct. 3 and 10, by William English Walling: *The Survey,* Sept. 13, by Prof. Graham Taylor; *The Survey,* Oct. 3, *N. Y. Tribune,* Oct. 11, by Harry W. Laidler; *N. Y. Tribune,* Aug. 23, by Prof. Sam. P. Orth; *Independent,* Sept. 21, by Emile Vandervelde; *New Review. International Socialist Review, Christian Socialist, Appeal to Reason, N. Y. Call,* etc.

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